

How the Franks took the city of Antioch

The power of the Franks and their increased importance were first manifested by their invasion of the lands of Islam and their conquest of part of them in the year 478 [1085–6], for [that was when] they took the city of Toledo and other cities of Spain, as we have already mentioned.¹

Then in the year 484 [1091–2] they attacked and conquered the island of Sicily, as we have also mentioned.² They descended on the coasts of Ifriqiya³ and seized some part, which was then taken back from them. Later they took other parts, as you shall see.

When it was the year 490 [1096–7] they invaded Syria. The reason for their invasion was that their ruler, Baldwin, a relative of Roger the Frank who had conquered Sicily, gathered a great host of Franks and sent to Roger saying, 'I have gathered a great host and I am coming to you. I shall proceed to Ifriqiya to take it and I shall be a neighbour of yours.' Roger assembled his men and consulted them about this. They said, 'By the truth of the Gospel, this is excellent for us and them. The lands will become Christian lands.' Roger raised his leg and gave a loud fart. 'By the truth of my religion,' he said, 'there is more use in that than in what you have to say!' 'How so?' they asked. 'If they come to me,' he replied, 'I shall require vast expenditure and ships to convey them to Ifriqiya and troops [273] of mine also. If they take the territory it will be theirs and resources from Sicily will go to them. I shall be deprived of the money that comes in every year from agricultural revenues. If they do not succeed, they will return to my lands and I shall suffer from them. Tamīm⁴ will say, "You have betrayed me and broken the agreement I have [with you]." Our mutual contacts and visits will be interrupted. The land of Ifriqiya will be waiting for us. Whenever we find the strength we will take it.'

He summoned Baldwin's envoy and said to him, 'If you are determined to wage holy war on the Muslims, then the best way is to conquer Jerusalem. You will free it from their hands and have glory. Between me and the people of Ifriqiya, however, are oaths and treaties.' They therefore made their preparations and marched forth to Syria.

It has been said that the Alid rulers of Egypt⁵ became fearful when they saw the

¹ See *Kāmil*, x, 142–3.

² See *Kāmil*, x, 193–8.

³ The loose term for the eastern part of the Maghrib (see *EI*(2), iii, 1047–50).

⁴ See below p. [279].

⁵ i.e. the Fatimid caliphs.

strength and power of the Saljuq state, that it had gained control of Syrian lands as far as Gaza, leaving no buffer state between the Saljuqs and Egypt to protect them, and that Aqsīs⁶ had entered Egypt and blockaded it. They therefore sent to the Franks to invite them to invade Syria, to conquer it and separate them and the [other] Muslims, but God knows best.

After they had decided to march to Syria, they went to Constantinople to cross the straits into Muslim lands, to travel on by land, for that would be easier for them. When they arrived, the Byzantine emperor refused them passage through his territory. He said, 'I will not allow you to cross into the lands of Islam until you swear to me that you will surrender Antioch to me.' His aim was to urge them to move into Islamic lands, assuming that Turks would not spare a single one of them, because he had seen how fierce they were and their control of the lands. [274] They agreed to that and crossed the Bosphorus at Constantinople in the year 490 [1096-7].

They reached the lands of Qilij Arslān ibn Sulaymān ibn Qutlumish,⁷ namely Konya and other cities. Having arrived there, they were met by Qilij Arslān with his hosts, who resisted them. They put him to flight in Rajab 490 [July 1097] after a battle⁸ and then traversed his lands into those of the son of the Armenian⁹ which they marched through before emerging at Antioch and putting it under siege.

When the ruler Yaghī Siyān¹⁰ heard of their coming, he feared the Christians in the city. He sent out the Muslim inhabitants by themselves and ordered them to dig the moat. Then the next day he sent out the Christians also to dig the moat, unaccompanied by any Muslim. They laboured on it until the evening but when they wished to enter the city he prevented them and said, 'You can give me Antioch until I see how things will be with us and the Franks.' They asked, 'Who will look after our sons and our wives?' 'I will look after them in your place,' he replied. So they held back and took up residence in the Frankish camp. The Franks besieged the city for nine months. Yaghī Siyān displayed such courage, excellent counsel, resolution and careful planning as had never been seen from anyone else. Most of the Franks perished. Had they remained in the numbers they set out with, they would have overwhelmed the lands of Islam. Yaghī Siyān protected the families of those Christians of Antioch, whom he had expelled, and restrained the hands that would do them harm.

After their siege of Antioch had lasted long, the Franks made contact with one of the men garrisoning the towers, who was an armourer, known as Rūzbah,¹¹ and

⁶ Alternative name for Atsiz ibn Uvak, a Turkoman chief who attacked Egypt in 1077 (see *EI*(2), i, 750-51).

⁷ Saljuq sultan of Asia Minor (Rūm), died 1107 (see *EI*(2), v, 103-4).

⁸ This is the battle of Dorylaeum, fought, according to Ibn Qal., 134, 'ten days left of Rajab [3 July]'. The accepted date is 1 July.

⁹ Perhaps Constantine I, son of Rupen I (1095-1102) is intended.

¹⁰ Turkish emir, given Aleppo as fief by Sultan Malikshāh.

¹¹ According to Ibn Qal., 136, he was an Armenian named Nayrūz (Fayrūz?).

offered him money and grants of land. He was in charge of a tower next to the citadel, which was built with a window overlooking the valley. After they had made an arrangement with this cursed armourer, they came to the window, which they opened and through which they entered. A large number climbed up on ropes. When they numbered more than five hundred, they blew the trumpet. That was [275] at dawn. The defenders were already tired from many sleepless nights on guard. Yaghī Siyān awoke and asked what was happening. He was told, 'That trumpet is from the citadel. No doubt it has already been taken.' However, it was not from the citadel but merely from that tower. He was seized with fear, opened the city gate and left in headlong flight with thirty retainers. His deputy as governor of the city came and asked after him. He was told that he had fled, so he himself fled by another gate. That was a boon for the Franks. Had he held firm for a while, they would have perished. The Franks entered the city through the gate and sacked it, killing the Muslims that were there. This was in Jumada I [April-May 1098].¹²

When the next day dawned, Yaghī Siyān came to his senses again. He had been like one distraught. He looked at himself after he had covered several leagues and said to those with him, 'Where am I?' 'Four leagues from Antioch,' he was told. He then regretted his flight to safety and his failure to fight until he either drove them from the city or was himself killed. He started to lament and bewail having abandoned his wife, his children and the Muslim population. Because of the violence of what afflicted him he fell from his horse in a faint. When he fell to the ground, his followers went to remount him but he could not hold on, for he was close to death. They therefore left him and rode away. An Armenian, who was cutting firewood and came across him when he was at his last gasp, killed him, cut off his head and took it to the Franks at Antioch.¹³

The Franks had written to the ruler of Aleppo and of Damascus, saying that they had no designs on lands other than those which had been in the hands of the Byzantines, that they had no other ambitions. This was a ruse and a trick on their part to stop aid being given to the ruler of Antioch.

[276] How the Muslims marched against the Franks and what befell them

When Qiwām al-Dawla Karbughā¹⁴ heard of the Franks' doings and their conquest

¹² The city fell in fact in early June 1098. The sources give varying days and dates, but according to Ibn Qal., 136, it fell on the eve of Friday 1 Rajab/4 June. The citadel surrendered a week later.

¹³ For the background and events leading to the fall of Antioch, see Asbridge, *Principality of Antioch*, 15-38.

¹⁴ Governor of Mosul and other Mesopotamian towns, supporter of Barkyāruq and patron of Zankī. He died either at Marāgha in 494/1101 (Ibn Qal., 140; *Bāhir*, 16) or near Khoy in 515/1102 (see below pp. [341-2]).

of Antioch, he gathered his forces and marched to Syria. He camped at Marj Dābiq,¹⁵ where the troops of Syria, both Turks and Arabs, rallied to him, apart from those who were in Aleppo. There assembled with him Duqāq ibn Tutush,¹⁶ Tughtakīn the Atabeg,¹⁷ Janāḥ al-Dawla the lord of Homs,¹⁸ Arslān Tāsh the lord of Sinjār, Suqmān ibn Artuq¹⁹ and other emirs, the likes of whom are not to be found. Hearing of this, the Franks' misfortunes increased and they were fearful because of their weakness and their shortage of provisions. The Muslims came and besieged them in Antioch, but Karbughā behaved badly towards the Muslims with him. He angered the emirs and lorded it over them, imagining that they would stay with him despite that. However, infuriated by this, they secretly planned to betray him, if there should be a battle, and they determined to give him up when the armies clashed.

The Franks, after they had taken Antioch, were left there for twelve days with nothing to eat. The powerful fed on their horses, while the wretched poor ate carrion and leaves. In view of this, they sent to Karbughā, asking him for terms to leave the city, but he did not grant what they sought. He said, 'My sword alone will eject you.'

The following princes were with them: Baldwin,²⁰ [Raymond of] St. Gilles,²¹ Count Godfrey, the Count [277] lord of Edessa²² and Bohemond the lord of Antioch, their leader. There was a monk there, of influence amongst them, who was a cunning man. He said to them, 'The Messiah (blessings be upon Him) had a lance which was buried in the church at Antioch, which was a great building.²³ If you find it, you will prevail, but if you do not find it, then destruction is assured.' He had previously buried a lance in a place there and removed the traces [of his digging]. He commanded them to fast and repent, which they did for three days. On the fourth day he took them all into the place, accompanied by the common people and workmen. They dug everywhere and found it as he had said. 'Rejoice

¹⁵ The 'plain' near Dābiq in North Syria (see *EI*(2), vi, 544).

¹⁶ Saljuq prince of Damascus, died 497/1104.

¹⁷ Zāhir al-Dīn Abū Mansūr Tughtakīn, freedman of Tutush and atabeg (i.e. regent/guardian) of Duqāq. Founder of the short-lived Būrid dynasty in Damascus, he died in 522/1128 (see *EI*(2), x, 600).

¹⁸ Atabeg of Rīḍwān ibn Tutush, ruled independently in Homs from 490/1097 and was assassinated in 496/1103.

¹⁹ Correct 'Sulayman' in the text. Suqmān (died c.1104) was a member of the Turkoman Artuqid dynasty, for which see *EI*(2), i, 662-7.

²⁰ In the original 'Bardwil', which, as a variant for 'Baghdawīn', represents Baldwin (cf. *Bāhir*, 18). Baldwin of Le Bourg, subsequently count of Edessa and then King Baldwin II, is intended. In the comparable list in *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ii, 134, he appears as 'Baghdawīn'. Cf. the list in Eddé, *Description*, 246.

²¹ Count of Toulouse. The text has 'Şanjl'.

²² Baldwin of Boulogne, count of Edessa and future Baldwin I, is meant, although he was not present at Antioch. *Zubdat al-ḥalab*, ii, 134, mentions him as 'his [Godfrey's] brother, the count', as does Eddé, *Description*, 246.

in your coming victory', he said to them.²⁴

On the fifth day they went out of the gate in scattered groups of five or six or so. The Muslims said to Karbughā, 'You ought to stand at the gate and kill all that come out, because now, when they are scattered, it is easy to deal with them.' He replied, 'No, do not do that. Leave them alone until they have all come out and then we can kill them.' He did not allow his men to engage them. However, one group of Muslims did kill several that had come out but he came in person and ordered them to desist.

When the Franks had all come out and not one of them remained within, they drew up a great battle line. At that, the Muslims turned their backs in flight, firstly because of the contempt and the scorn with which Karbughā had treated them and secondly because he had prevented them from killing the Franks. Their flight was complete. Not one of them struck a blow with a sword, thrust with a spear or shot an arrow. The last to flee were Suqmān ibn Artuq and Janāh al-Dawla because they were stationed in ambush. Karbughā fled with them. When the Franks observed this, they thought that it was a trick, since there had been no battle such as to cause a flight [278] and they feared to pursue them. A company of warriors for the faith²⁵ stood firm and fought zealously, seeking martyrdom. The Franks slew thousands of them and seized as booty the provisions, money, furnishings, horses and weapons that were in the camp. Their situation was restored and their strength returned.

Account of the Franks' conquest of Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān

After the Franks had dealt with the Muslims as they did, they marched to Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān²⁶ and camped around it for a siege. The inhabitants fought them fiercely and the Franks experienced hardship and trouble, as they met with serious resistance and hard-fought opposition. They then constructed a wooden tower to come alongside the city wall. The battle waged around it but with no harm to the Muslims. When it was night some of the Muslims became fearful and were overcome with defeatism and dismay. They thought that, if they fortified themselves in some of the large houses, they could hold out there, so they went down from the wall and abandoned the place they had been defending. Another group saw them and did as they did, so that their place on the wall was also abandoned. Group after group followed their neighbours in descending from the wall until it was quite deserted. The Franks climbed on to it with ladders. When

²³ This is the cathedral of St Peter, called al-Qusyān (Eddé, *Description*, 224, note 4; 231-2).

²⁴ This lance, claimed to be the one used to pierce Jesus' side, was found in the Church of St Peter by a Provencal, Peter Bartholomew.

²⁵ *Mujāhidin*. Quite probably volunteer auxiliaries were intended, rather than regular troops.

they were up there, the Muslims were quite at a loss and entered their houses. For three days the Franks put them to the sword and killed more than one hundred thousand. They enslaved many and took possession of the town.²⁷

They remained for forty days and then marched to 'Arqa,²⁸ which they besieged for four months. They mined the wall in several places but could not take the place. Munqidh,²⁹ the ruler of Shayzar, sent envoys and reached an agreement with them. They marched on to Homs, which they besieged, until the ruler, Janāḥ al-Dawla, came to terms with them. Then by way of the Nāqūra Pass³⁰ they left for Acre but were unable to take it.

[279] Account of the war between Sanjar and Dawlatshāh

Dawlatshāh was a descendant of the Saljuq rulers. A number of the troops of Yabghu, the brother of Tughril Beg, who were in Tukhāristān,³¹ gathered to him and they took Walwālij³² and Kamanj.³³ The Sultan Sanjar and his army marched against them. He came to Balkh which he entered in Rajab of this year [June 1098], and then left the town to give battle to Dawlatshāh, who did not have sufficient troops to stand against his army. Dawlatshāh's troops fought a little and then fled. Dawlatshāh was taken prisoner and brought before Sanjar, who spared his life but imprisoned him, and later on blinded him. Sanjar sent an army to the city of Tirmidh, which he conquered and handed over to Tughriltakīn.

Miscellaneous events

During this year Tamīm³⁴ ibn al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs, the ruler of Ifrīqiya, conquered the island of Jerba, the island of Kerkenna³⁵ and the city of Tunis. There was in Ifrīqiya a severe famine in which many people perished.

²⁶ Town in North Syria, two days' journey south of Aleppo (*EI* (2), v, 922-7).

²⁷ For events at Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, see Asbridge, *Principality of Antioch*, 39-40.

²⁸ Situated at the western end of the Homs-Tripoli gap, about 15 miles from the latter place.

²⁹ At this date the ruling member of the Munqidh clan at Shayzar (on the Orontes) was Naṣr ibn 'Ali ibn Muqallad (ruled 475-92/1082-98). See *EI*(2), vii, 577-80, s.v. Munkidh.

³⁰ i.e. the Ladder of Tyre, on the coast between Tyre and Acre.

³¹ The region along the southern banks of the middle and upper Oxus River (*EI*(2), x, 600-602).

³² Yāqūt, iv, 940, simply says 'town in Badakhshān.' It was south of the Oxus and four days' journey east of Balkh, near the site of the more recent Qunduz (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 67; Krawulsky, 107, and cf. Le Strange, *Eastern Caliphate*, 428).

³³ Unidentified. Is it perhaps identical with K.m.n.j.th, 'village in Transoxania' (Yāqūt, iv, 305)?

³⁴ Fifth ruler of the Zīrid dynasty, born 422/1031, died 501/1108. See *EI*(2), x, 172.

³⁵ The name of an archipelago, and its main island, off the eastern coast of Tunisia, see

This year the caliph sent an envoy to Sultan Barkyāruq to seek aid against the Franks, stressing the importance of this matter and the need to deal with it before it became more serious.

This year the following died:

In Sha'bān [July 1098] Abū'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf, who was born in the year 412 [1021-2] and was an excellent scholar of Ḥadīth.

Abū'l-Faḍl 'Abd al-Wahhāb ibn Abī Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Ḥanbalī. He was [280] a learned and eloquent scholar.

In Shawwāl [September 1098] Ṭirād ibn Muḥammad al-Zaynabī.³⁶ For Ḥadīth his chains of transmission had high authority. The office of syndic of the Abbasids was held after him by his son, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ṭirād.

In Dhū'l-Qa'da [October 1098] Abū'l-Faṭḥ al-Muẓaffar ibn Ra'īs al-Ru'asā' Abī'l-Qāsim ibn al-Muslima.³⁷ His house was a gathering place of scholars and divines. One of those who frequented it until his death was the Shaykh Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī.

Abū'l-Faraj Sahl ibn Bishr ibn Aḥmad al-Isfara'īnī, one of the leading scholars of Ḥadīth.

EI(2), iv, 650-52.

³⁶ See Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqil*, 183-4.

³⁷ i.e. the son of the caliph's vizier put to death by al-Basāsīrī (Richards, *Annals*, 121-4).

Account of the rebellion and murder of Emir Unur

When Sultan Barkyāruq went to Khurasan, he put Emir Unur in charge of all the lands of Fars. The Shabankara had come to dominate there despite the variety of their clans and tribes. They sought the help of the lord of Kirman, Ḫrān Shāh ibn Qāwurt.¹ Having joined forces, they met Emir Unur in battle and defeated him, so that he retired in disarray to Isfahan. He sent to the sultan asking for permission to join him in Khurasan, but he ordered him to remain in the region of the Uplands, gave him command over Iraq, and wrote to the troops in the vicinity that they should obey him. He stayed at Isfahan, then left to go to his fief in Azerbaijan. When he returned the influence of the Bātīnīs² had spread in Isfahan. He took it upon himself to fight them and besieged a fortress on the mountain at Isfahan.

Mu'ayyad al-Mulk, the son of Nizām al-Mulk, who was in Baghdad, made contact with Unur and left to go to al-Ḥilla. He was well received by Ṣadāqa and moved on from his court to Emir Unur. Having joined Unur, he and others warned him against Sultan Barkyāruq, stressed the dangers of meeting with him and advised him to keep far away. They suggested he should write to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mālik Shāh, who was at that time in Ganja. Unur determined to break with the sultan and discussed that step. This became public, so he became more fearful [282] of the sultan. He assembled about 10,000 mounted troops, known for their bravery, and he marched from Isfahan to Rayy. He sent to the sultan, to say that he was his humble and obedient servant, if he surrendered Majd al-Mulk al-Balāṣānī³ to him, but if he did not, then he would rebel and cast off his allegiance.

While he was breaking his fast, for it was his custom to fast several days a week, and when he was close to finishing his meal, three half-breed Turks from Khwarazm, who belonged to his cavalry, attacked him. One collided with the torch and knocked it over, the second ran into the lamp and extinguished it, but the third struck him with a dagger and killed him. His bodyguard was killed with him. In the darkness all were in confusion. They ransacked his treasure chests and the army scattered and broke up. He was left lying on the ground, as nothing could be found to carry him on. Later he was taken to his residence at Isfahan and there buried.

¹ The Saljuq prince, Bahā' al-Dawla, who ruled 490–95/1097–1101.

² The Ismā'īlī Shiīte sect (the Assassins), so called from their belief in the esoteric teaching of their Imams (*al-bāyin*).

³ i.e. Abū'l-Faḍl As'ad ibn Muḥammad, a Shiīte and senior administrator of Barkyāruq.

News of his death reached Sultan Barkyāruq at Khuwar al-Rayy,⁴ after he had left Khurasan intending to wage war on him, although he was extremely apprehensive about fighting him and about the outcome of the affair. Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī rejoiced at his death, although a like fate soon awaited him. Unur was thirty-seven years old. He fasted and prayed frequently, did much good and loved men of piety.

How the Franks (God curse them) took Jerusalem

Jerusalem had been held by Tāj al-Dawla Tutush who assigned it to Emir Suqmān ibn Artuq the Turkoman. When the Franks defeated the Turks at Antioch and made slaughter amongst them, the power of the Turks weakened [283] and they lost cohesion. When the Egyptians saw their weakness, they marched to Jerusalem, led by al-Afdal ibn Badr al-Jamālī. There they besieged Suqmān and İlgħāzī, the sons of Artuq, and also their cousin Savanj and their nephew Yāqūtī. They set up forty and more trebuchets against the town and demolished parts of its wall. The inhabitants fought back and the fighting and the siege lasted somewhat over forty days, until the Egyptians took the city on terms in Sha'bān 489 [July 1096]. Al-Afdal treated Suqmān, İlgħāzī and their followers well, gave them generous gifts and sent them on their way to Damascus. Subsequently they crossed the Euphrates. Suqmān took up residence in Edessa but İlgħāzī moved to Iraq.

The Egyptians appointed as deputy in Jerusalem a man called Iftikhār al-Dawla, who remained there until this present time, when the Franks attacked after they had besieged Acre but with no success. After their arrival they erected forty trebuchets or more and they constructed two towers, one on Mount Zion side but the Muslims burnt that one and killed all inside. After they had completely destroyed it by fire, their help was then called for, as the city defences had been overwhelmed on the other side. The Franks did indeed take the city from the north in the forenoon of Friday, seven days remaining of Sha'bān [15 July 1099]. The inhabitants became prey for the sword. For a week the Franks continued to slaughter the Muslims. A group of Muslims took refuge in the Tower of David⁵ and defended themselves there. They resisted for three days and then the Franks offered them safe-conduct, so they surrendered the place. The Franks kept faith with them and they departed at night for Ascalon, where they remained.

In the Aqsa Mosque the Franks killed more than 70,000, a large number of them [284] being imams, ulema, righteous men and ascetics, Muslims who had left their native lands and come to live a holy life in this august spot. The Franks took forty or more silver candlesticks from the Dome of the Rock, each of which weighed 3,600 dirhams, and also a silver candelabrum weighing forty Syrian rotls. They

⁴ A district in N. Persia, south of Damavand. See *EI*(2), iv, 1029.

⁵ i.e. the citadel, in Arabic called the Mihrāb of David.

removed 150 small candlesticks of silver and twenty or so of gold. The booty they took was beyond counting.

In Ramaḍān [22 July–20 August 1099] men came to Baghdad from Syria seeking assistance, accompanied by the Cadi Abū Sa'd al-Harawī. They recounted in the Diwan a narrative which brought tears to the eye and pained the heart. They demonstrated in the mosque on Friday and cried out for help, weeping and reducing others to tears. A tale was told of the killing of men, the enslavement of women and children and the plundering of property that had fallen upon the Muslims in that revered, august place. Because of the severity of their suffering they did not observe their fast. The caliph ordered the following to be sent on a mission, the Cadi Abū Muḥammad al-Damghānī, Abū Bakr al-Shāshī,⁶ Abū'l-Qāsim al-Zanjānī, Abū'l-Wafā ibn 'Aqīl,⁷ Abū Sa'd al-Hulwānī and Abū'l-Ḥusayn ibn Sammāk. They set out for Hulwān but news came to them of the death of Majd al-Mulk al-Balāsānī, as we shall relate, so they returned without achieving any aim or any goal. The rulers were all at variance, as we shall relate, and so the Franks conquered the lands.⁸

[286] Account of warfare between the Franks and the Egyptians

In Ramaḍān of this year [22 July–20 August 1099] there was a battle between Egyptian troops and the Franks. The reason was that al-Afdal Emir al-Juyūsh,⁹ when he heard what had befallen the people of Jerusalem, assembled and mobilised his forces and marched to Ascalon. He sent to the Franks, condemning their actions and threatening them. They sent the envoy back with their reply and, setting out on his tracks, came upon the Egyptians a little after the arrival of the envoy. The Egyptians had no intelligence of their coming or that they had made any move. They were not ready for combat. The cry went up, 'To horse' and they donned their armour but the Franks were too quick for them and put them to flight. Having inflicted losses on them, the Franks took the property, weapons and whatever else was in their camp as booty.

Al-Afdal fled and entered Ascalon. A number of the routed troops went and hid themselves in a grove of sycamore trees, which were abundant there. The Franks set fire to a part so that some perished within and those that came out were killed. Al-Afdal returned to Egypt with his close retinue and the Franks besieged Ascalon and pressed it hard. The population offered a tribute of 12,000 dinars, although another report says 20,000. Then the Franks returned to Jerusalem.

⁶ A prominent Shāfi'i scholar, died 507/1114. See Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqil*, 208–10.

⁷ This is the leading Ḥanbalī, 'Ali ibn 'Aqil, the subject of Makdisi's *Ibn 'Aqil et la Résurgence de l'Islam etc.*

⁸ Twenty-two verses by Abū'l-Muẓaffar al-Abīwardī are omitted at this point.

⁹ Emir al-Juyūsh (Commander of the Armies) was the title used by the viziers, al-Afdal Shāhinshāh and his father, Badr al-Jamālī.